The National Ern is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite Odd Fellows' Hali. TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, psyable in advance.

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent inser-All communications to the Era, whether on business of the paper or for publication, sho be addressed to G. Balley, Washington, D. C.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS,

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 3, 1850.

Married and the same of the sa

BY MARY IRVING.

The spirits of the "Rochester rappings " have been agitating of late the hearts of the would-be wise and the credulous, and seem even to have groped their way into the "Siate of steady habits." The family of a worthy clergyman of Stratford has been favored by a mysterious visitation. probably from the legitimate descendants of the Salem witches" that furned the heads of the good old Massachusetts divines, in the days of " auld lang syne."

Our human nature kindles at the first intimation of a peep into the unseen and the future, as the eye of a dungeon-caged captive at the first feeling in general, on this subject.

"It is passing strange," said an intelligent and "held communion" with the "spirits" that shadow the footsteps of the Rochester damsels.

"I-don't really believe in them," the added, in answer to some expression of incredulity; "but I tell you, investigation—mine, at least—can make nothing of it. The matter is wholly inexplicable to me."

Union; and so in love is he with his "peculiar institution," which thus promotes the growth of airlightening those reallings into savages, and prevents them from believe in the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages, and prevents them from believe to the promotes the growth of airlightening into savages. plicable to me.

A young poet, who was listening to her, kindled at the suggestion. "And why may it not be truth?" he mused, upraising his fine eye,

was hushed, but not the thoughts it awakened. Our age has, in some points, well deserved its distinguishing title, "the utilitarian"—the practical, par excellence. The Greek, in the simple-hearted credulity of his Pantheism, used to ask pardon of the Dryad before rousing her dying shriek in the falling oak. What thinks the lumberman of Maine, whistling among his crisping snows, of life in his pines, rustle they never so spiritually to the breath of the northwester? Who could imagine Nymph or Naiad twining her white arms around the iron prow of the steamship that rules her old domain? What prairie plough thinks of turning up the "men in green" from the "virgin soil" of the West, dewbaptized and flower-sprinkled, from Eden's first distinguishing title, "the utilitarian"-the prachour to this?

The world in its infancy-like the mind in its childhood distorted the chadews of realities into vague, supernatural unrealities. Philosointo vague, supernatural unrealities. Philoso-phers of a certain school tell us, that these early illusions, (so-called,) in both instances, were, and driver are we to be silenced. In this "freest naare, bright reflections from the great ocean of a past existence, which we leave too far behind us in the journey of life. So sang that mighty interpreter of Nature, whom she has just taken to her bosom. Wordsworth, through a childhood of eighty years, ceased not to of eighty years, ceased not to

" See the children sport upon the shore,

The theory is beautiful, but is it true? Where

blindfolded child in the portice of a vast temple, whose gigantic area he measures by the empty echoes his own shout wakes, as he gropes along toward its walls. We are looking forward to the solution of yet unread problems in the volume of Mind, as well as of Matter, and, perhaps, not unreasonably. But, while voices come from the leaf-barks that float on the waves of popular excitement, crying, "Lo here! or lo there!" it is fitting to remember that there is one guiding Spirit, mighty in all knowledge, ever present with the humblest heart. We need not wander and stumble in dark labyrinthine paths to find Truth.

We are told of "ministering spirits," by We are teld of "ministering spirits," by the lips that cannot lie; and it were a sacrilege to doubt their mission. But they come never to torment or terrify—they hold no communion with the eye or ear of sense. In that selemn hour when the soul hovers half-way between two worlds, when the veil of earthly vision grows transparent with the dawning light of eternity, it may be—it must be—that revealings through that veil are sometimes given

it may be—it must be—that revealings through that veil are sometimes given.

A little girl, in a family of my acquaintance, a lovely and precocious child, lost her mother at an age too early to fix the loved features in her remembrance. She was fail as beautiful; and as the bud of her heart unfolded, it seemed, as if won by that mother's prayers to turn instinctively heavenward. The sweet, conscientious, and prayer-loving child was the idol of the bereaved family. But she faded away early. She would lie upon the lap of the friend who took a mother's kind care of her, and, winding one wasted arm about her neck, would say, "Now tell me about my mamma!" And when the oft-told tale had been repeated, she would ask, softly, "Take me into the parlor; I want to see my mamma!" The request was never refused; and the affectionate sick child would lie for hours, contentedly gazing on her mother's portrait. But

" Pale and wan she grew, and weakly-As the trial-hour drew pearer!

I hat hour came at last and the weeping neigh-bors assembled to see the little child die. The diew of death was already on the flower, as its

faintly—spasmodically.

"Do you know me, darling?" sobbed, close in her car, the voice that was dearest; but it swoke no answer. All at once a brightness, as if from the upper world, burst over the child's colorless countenance. The cyclids flashed open, the lips parted, the wan, curdling hands flew up, in the little one's last impulsive effort, as she looked piercingly into the far above.

port in her tone—and passed with that breath to her mother's bosom. Said a distinguished divine, who stood by that bed of joyous death, "If I had never believed in the ministration of departed ones before, I could not doubt it now !"

"Peace I leave with you," said the wisest Spirit that ever passed from earth to Heaven. Let us be at "peace" amid the spirit-mysteries and questionings on which His eye shall soon shed the light of Eternity.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

SPEECH OF GEORGE W. JULIAN, OF INDIANA. DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 14, 1850,

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Representing, as I do, one of the strongest anti-slavery districts in the Union, feel called upon to express, as nearly as may be, the views and feelings of my constituents, in reference to the exciting and painfully-interesting question of slavery. I am not vain enough to sup-pose that anything I may say will influence the action of this Committee; yet I should hereafter reproach myself were I to sit here day after day, and week after week, till the close of the session listening to the monstrous heresies, and I am tempted to say the impudent bluster, of Southern gentlemen, without confronting them on this floor with a becoming protest in the name of the peothe eye of a dungeon-caged captive at the first crash of his jailer's key in his lock. An individual instance may serve to illustrate the popular capture in general on this subject.

with a becoming protest in the name of the people in the hand of the people in the name of the tells us, that less pauperism and crime abound in the South than in the North, and that there never friend, a few months since—one who had visited has existed a higher state of civilization than is now exhibited by the slaveholding States of this Union; and so in love is he with his "peculiar in-

mitted, under national sanction, to extend their accursed system over the virgin soil of our Ter-fles, they will block the wheels of Govern-t, revolutionize the forms of legislation, and involve this nation in the horrors of civil war. with its glance, perhaps, on the Past. "Why may not the loved and lost speak to us this side umph of Northern arms, and comparing the vanthe river of Death? We know they are with us.
Why may not these human ears hear them—perhaps the eyes they loved behold them?"

The eyes here struck up its "merry Christ."

The eyes here struck up its "merry Christ." The organ here struck up its "merry Christ- as noble a race as the sun ever shone upon," fighting mas" peal, and the tête-a-tête of our little party (he should have added) for the extension and per-

petuation of human bondage!

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Brown]
manifests an equal devotion to the controlling interest of the South. He declares that he "recredly is it to be cherished, that we in the are not allowed to give utterance to our deepes moral convictions respecting it. My friend from Mississippi gradients admir that we think al-very an evil; but he adds, "Very well, think so Revolution, and "keep our liberty a secret," lest we should give offence to the immaculate institu-tion of the South. Of other institutions of society we may speak with the utmost freedom We may talk of Northern labor and Northern

ciety we may speak with the utmost freedom we may talk of Northern labor and Northern pauperism. But a new race seems to be springing up from the buried teeth of the old dragons of mythology and goblinology. Psychology, biology, and a host of mystic ologies beside, have arisen in flourishing array. An age cannot be called altogether practical, which threatens to exalt Mormonism into the sovereignty of a State; which swallows undigested, by the wholesale, the "revelations" of Andrew Jackson Davis and his compeers, and the ten thousand contradictions of Clairvoyance & Co., enshrining their mysteries even within college walls, and which lifts its ear timorously and tremulously at a roguish rap in Rochester or Stratford.

"The power of a strong mind over a weak" one has filled the world with mysteries enough, before and since it sent Leonora Galignani to the stake for sorcery. Mind is itself a mystery. Life is a mystery. Whence came we? Whither are we going? What is our life-mission in this strange world? These are mysteries which the world's wisdom for ages has striven to fathom,

And the gentleman from Mississippi, like his friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big side friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big side friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big side friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big side friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the big side friend from North Carolina in the besit part of the bound in the pounds. In the bound in the purpose, we are reminded of the struggle of our fathers against the south will not submit to be girdled round by free soil; and if we dare to thwart all hexards. The south will not submit to be girdled round by free soil; and if we dare which can take sides with us in such a contest."
Yet Southern gentlemen appeal to our Revolutionary history as a warning to us, and a justifitionary history as a warning to us, and a justification of a war on their part, not for the establishment, but for the subversion of liberty, and the destruction of "the rights of human nature," by the indefinite extension over free lands of that system of bondage which the very soul of Jefferson abhorred. All this to Northern men seems strange. As a specimen of Southern philosophy it may be very creditable to politicians from that quarter, and it may appeal powerfully to their patriotism, but we cannot comprehend it. Nothing short of the serene understanding and unclouded vision of a slaveholder can penetrate into the marrow of such arguments in defence of the South.

"Mother!" she cried, with surprise and trans- seat on this floor, I have on more occasions than one heard Southern gentlemen denounce Jefferson as a sophist, and the Declaration of Independence as a humbug. And some of these gentlemen, strange to tell, coolly style themselves Democrats!

Why, we are told that so far from being created equal, men are not created at all Adam alone was a created man. Neither are men born. Infants are born, and grow up to the estate of man-hood; but men are neither born nor created. The equality of men is declared to be absurd for other ons. Some men, we are told, are taller than others, some of a fairer complexion, some more richly endowed with intellect; as if the author of the Declaration of Independence had meant to affirm that men are equal in respect to their physi-

cal or intellectual peculiarities! Mr. Chairman, I will speak seriously. I need not further multiply these examples of Southern opinion and feeling. I have brought them forward because, while the cry of "Northern fanati-

of the President's Message transmitting the Country to judge whether a much larger share of fanaticism does not exist in the Southern States; and whether this slaveholding fanaticism is not infinitely less excusable than that which prevails in the North. Sir, I can respect the man who, under the impulse of philanthropy or patriot-ism, deals his ill-judged blows at an institution which is crushing the dearest rights of millions, and now seeks at all hazards to curse new regions with its presence; but it is difficult to respect the slaveholder, who, with his foot upon the neck of his brother, sits down with his Bible in one hand and his metaphysics in the other, to argue with me, that the truths of the Declaration of Independence are mere sophisms, and that the forcible strip-ping of three millions of human beings of all their rights, even their humanity itself, receives the sanction of the Almighty, and is a blessing to both tyrant and slave. This is a species of fanaticism above all others the most distasteful, the most preposterous, the most revolting. I will not under-take to combat these absurdities of its champions for it has been said truly, that to argue with men who have renounced the use and authority of reason, and whose philosophy consists in holding humanity in contempt, is like administering medicine to the dead, or endeavoring to convert an atheist by Scripture.

Southern aggression Nothing is more current in Southern speeches and newspapers than the charge that the people of the free States are aggressing upon the rights of the South; and this Union, it seems, is to be dissolved, unless these Onion, it seems, is to be dissorted, unless takes aggressions shall cease. On the other hand, the people of the free States charge the South with being the aggressor, and plead not guilty to the indictment of the slaveholders. Now, how stands the case? Who is the aggressor? This is the question to be solved, and the one I propose mainly to examine. I wish to do this fairly and

mainly to examine. I wish to do this fairly and dispassionately; for I am fully aware of the differences of opinion which prevail in regard to it, resulting, perhaps necessarily, from the different circumstances of the parties.

The charge of Northern aggression I certainly deny. It has no just foundation. Neither is the charge of Southern aggression, perhaps, fully and strictly true. The truth rather seems to be, that under the lead of Southern counsels, both sections of the Union have united in enlarging and aggrandizing the slave power. This propand aggrandizing the slave power. This proposition I shall endeavor to establish.

What are these Northern aggressions of which we have heard so much complaint? Of what hos-tile acts do they consist? Have the people of the free States attempted to interfere, by law, with slavery in the South? This charge, I am aware, is frequently brought against us. You can scarcely open a newspaper from that quarter in which it is not gravely made. It has been again and again denied by Northern men on this floor, but Southern gentlemen still continue to repeat it. Sometimes it is preferred against the people right on the part of Congress to touch the institu-tion of slavery where it exists. We all agree that the subject is beyond our control. As regards the naked question of constitutional power, Con-gress has no more right to abolish slavery in South Carolina, than it has to abolish free schools in Massachusetts—no more right to support slave-ry in one State than in the other. It is an institution dependent wholly upon State sovereignty, with which the General Government has no more concern than with slavery in Russia or Austria. It is true, that some of us in the North claim the right to assault slavery with moral weapons, even in the States. When the slaveholder says to us that on this subject we must keep our thoughts to ourselves, we shall obey him if it suits us. We have a right to employ those moral forces by which reforms of every kind are carried forward. have a right to employ those moral forces by which reforms of every kind are carried forward. We understand the power of opinion. We believe, in the language of Dr. Channing, that "opinion is stronger than Kings, mobs, Lynchlaws, or any other laws for the suppression of thought and speech;" and that, "whoever spreads through his circle, be that circle wide or narrow, just opinions and views respecting slavery, hastens its fall." Sir, it is not only our right, but our duty, to give utterance to our cherished moral convictions; and if slavery, rooted as it is in the institutions and opinions of the South, cannot brave the growing disapprobation of Christendom, let it perish. And it will perish. If by "resnacting the law of God," we can prevent its extension, the South will be constrained to adopt some plan of gradual emancipation. She will realize forcibly the important fact, which she now endeavors to overlook, that truth, justice, humanity, and the spirit of the age, are all leagued against her system. I will not harbor the impious thought that an institution, so freighted with wretchedness and wo, is to be perpetuated under the providence of God. I cannot adopt a principle that would dethrone the Almighty, and make Satan the governor of the moral world. It is "the fool" who "hath said in his heart there is no God." Nor do we mean to be silenced by the hackneyed argument that slavery is a civil institution, and therefore none of our business. We deny that the public laws of a community can sanctify oppression, or stifle the expression of our sympathy for the oppressed. Your slavery, when intrenohed behind your institutions, is still slavery; and although your laws may uphold it, they cannot repeal that Christian law which teaches the universal brotherhood of our race. But while I thus frankly avow these sentiments, I repeat what I have already aaid, that the people of the North claim no right, through the action of the General Government, to interfere with slavery in the slaveholding States. We most emphaticall

emphatically disavow any such purposes of the then, guilty of aggression upon the rights of the slaveholder? then, guilty of aggression upon the rights of the slaveholder?

We are charged with violating the clause in the Federal Constitution relative to fugitives from labor. This is among the gravest accussions preferred against us. Sir, this clause, and the act of Congress made in pursuance of it, have been elaborately argued and solemnly adjudicated upon in the highest court of the nation. Our duty in the free States has been made so plain that a child may understand it. I would not refer to this subject, which has been so often discussed on this floor, and repeat what has been so often said, were it not for the unending clamor of the South against us. We are driven to a repetition of the grounds of our defence. We say the slave-hunter may come upon our soil in pursuit of his fugitive, and take him if he is able, either with or without warrant, and we are not allowed to interfere in the race. "Hands off" is our covenant, and the whole of it. If the owner sees fit to sue out a warrant, he must go before a United States officer with his complaint. It is not the duty of our State magistrates to aid him, the execution of the clause in question depending exclusively upon Federal authority. I think I state fairly the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania.

Now, if Congress along can provide for the

service they owe by the laws of other States, or preventing their recapture; and if this is not done, there can be no reasonable ground of complaint against the North. According to the decision alluded to, the fugitive may be recaptured without warrant, and, without any trial of his rights by jury or otherwise, carried into slavery. rights by jury or otherwise, carried into slavery. This manifestly exposes the colored people of the free States to the Southern kidnapper. They have the right, which belongs to all communities, to guard the liberties of their own citizens; and if, for this purpose, some of them have passed laws against the kidnapping of free persons as slaves, and providing a trial by jary to determine the question whether the property claimed is or is not a slave, is it an aggression pon Southern rights? When the free colored concess of the North visit the ports of South Carolina, they are thrown into prison, and sometimes even sold into slavery. prison, and sometimes even sold into slavery. This, if I mistake not, is justified by the South on the ground of a necessary police regulation. ponde regularions, to secure the rights of | gress of this year, and popular movements in a their citizens? Are not police regulations in behalf of liberty as justifiable as police regulations

As regards the enticement of slaves from their masters, the number of such cases is small. Neither the States, nor the mass of their citizens, are accountable, or have any connection whatever with such transactions. The great majority of escapes are prompted by other causes than North-ern interference. The slave has the power of locomotion, and the instinct to be free; and it would indeed be wonderful did he not, of his own will and by his own efforts, struggle for the prize of which he has been robbed. strive to better their condition is a law of nature. The flight of the bondman is a necessary consequence of the oppression under which he groans. Blame not the North for this, but blame your diabolical system, which impiously tramples under foot the God-given rights of men. Upbraid nature, for she is always "agitating" the question of slavery, and persuading its victims to flee. You hold three millions of your fellow-beings as chattels. You shut out from them the light of the Bible, and degrade and brutalize them to the extent of your power, for your system requires it. You deny them that principle of eternal justice, a his day's suger for a fest degic work . For sunder their dearest relations, separating at your will husbands and wives, parents and children. And do you suppose the poor slave, smarting under these wrongs, will not seek deliverance by fight? And when, through peril and starvation, he finds his way among us, panting for that lib-erty for which our fathers poured out their blood, do you imagine we shall drop our work and join in the chase with his Christless pursuers? Sir, there is no power on earth that can induce us thus to take sides with the oppressor. Such, I rejoice to believe, is the public sentiment of the North, that I care not what laws Congress may enact, the slave-hunter will find himself unaided. The free States will observe faithfully the com-promises of the Constitution. They will give up their soil as a hunting ground for the slaveholder, suspending their sovereignty that hemay give free chase to his fugitive. They will pass no law to discharge him from the service he may legally owe to his claimant, or to hinder his recepture. But we will not actively cooperate against the unhappy victim of your tyranny. And if Southern gentlemen mean to insist upon such active cooperation on our part, as a condition of their continuing in the Union, they may as well, in my judgment, begin to look about them for some way of getting out of it on the best terms they can. Under no cir-

cumstances, I trust, will we yield to their de-

scatter firebrands throughout the South, to incite servile insurrections, and stimulate by licentious pictures our negroes to invade the persons of our white women." Sir, this is a serious accusation, white women." Sir, this is a serious accusation, and if true, the South unquestionably has a right to complain. I will not charge the gentleman with fabricating it, but I regret that he did not produce the evidence on which he felt suthorized to make it. I deny the charge. I deny that the free States "keep up and foster in their bosoms Abolition societies," for any purpose. The Abolition societies, now known as such, belong to what is called the Garrison school. The Northern States are no more responsible for their do-ings than the Southern States. Unlike all other ings than the Southern States. Unlike all other parties in the North, they lay down their platform outside of the Constitution, and hold that the freedom of the black race can only be accomplished by its overthrow; but they rely upon moral force alone for the triumph of their cause. I deny that they are guilty of inciting, or of wishing to incit according insurrections, or of scattering firebrands. servile insurrections, or of scattering firebrands among the slaves, or licentious pictures. These Abolitionists are generally the friends of peace, non-resistants, the enemies of violence and blood; and they would regret as much as any people in the Union to see a service war set on foot by the millions in the land of slavery. I will add further, while dissenting entirely from their doctrines, that they have among them some of the purest and most gifted men in the nation. But is the charge meant for the Free Soil party of the North? Are they the incendiaries complained of, and their doctrines the firebrands which have been scattered in the South? We hold that Congress should abolish slavery in this District, prevent its extension beyond its present limits refuse the admission of any more slave States refuse the admission of any more slave States, and that the Government should relieve itself from all responsibilty for the existence or support of slavery where it has the constitutional power thus to relieve itself, leaving it a State institution, dependent upon State sovereignty exclusively. We are for non-intervention in its true sense. Such is our creed, and we proclaim it North and South. If it is incendiary, then are we guilty, for our newspapers circulate in the slaveholding States. If our faith is a firebrand, we have scattered it, not among your slaves, who are unable to read, but among their owners. Acting within the Constitution, and resolving not to go beyond its the Constitution, and resolving not to go beyond its granted powers, we mean to avail ourselves of a free press to disseminate our views far and wide. If truth is incendiary, we shall still proclaim it; if our constitutional acts are firebrands, we shall nevertheless do our duty. Sir, this charge has been conceived in the diseased brain of the slaveholder, or the sickly conscience of the doughface. I reiterate my denial that any party in the free States has labored to bring about a war between the two races in the South. ham aware that we have our ultra men among us, nor do I pretend to the two races in the South. Lam aware that we have our ultra men among us, nor do I pretend to justify all they have done. They must answer for themselves, and cannot involve the North in their responsibility. But there is no party in the free States that harbors any such purpose, or that would not shudder at the contemplation of so merciless and heart-appalling a project.

Persing over the subject of alayery in this Dis-

Passing over the subject of slavery in this District, which I shall notice in a different connection, I come now to the Wilmot Proviso. This would seem to be the sum of all wrongs and outwould seem to be the sum of all wrongs and outrages—the aggression of aggressions—the monster that, if not at once throttled and destroyed, is to rend the Union asunder. Let us once more look it in the face, take its dimensions, and contemplate its supposed power of mischief. This Wilmot Proviso has been much discussed in Congress, and throughout the country; it might be thought, by this time, a stale topic; yet it is far from being an uninteresting one, as the continual thought, by this time, a stale topic; yet it is far from being an uninteresting one, as the continual discussion of it here evinces. Endeavoring as much as possible to lay aside passion, I would say to Southern gentlemen, "Let us reason together." Suppose this alarming measure should pass through both Houses of Congress, and receive the Executive sanction, I ask wherein would consist the aggression upon the guarantied rights of the South? Would not every slave State still retain its sovereignty over its peculiar institution? Would not the rights of the master, as sanctioned by local law, remain unimpaired? Look next the South.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Monton]
The gentleman from Virgin

sentation, and the recovery of fugitives, are the only matters touching which Congress can constitutionally legislate in favor of elavery. So far, I admit, our fathers compromised the freedom of the black race, and involved the free States in the political obligation to uphold slavery. Beyond these express compromises, they did not go, nor design to go. They yielded thus much to the South, under the impelling desire for union, believing that the powers of the Government, with the exceptions expressly made, would be "activedom," and that slavery would gradually cease to exist in the country. I do not speak of this as matter of conjecture. As early as 1774, Mr. Jef-ferson declared that "the abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies;" and the opinion was then common throughout the country that this object could be attained by discontinuing the importation of slaves

the colonies, about this time, evinced a very decided determination to carry into practice this non importation policy. This, I presume, will be denied by no one. Our revolutionary struggle commenced soon afterwards; and, basing its justification upon the inalienable rights of man, it could not fail to give an impulse to the spirit of liberty favorable to the abolition of slavery in the colonies. After the war was over, Mr. Jeffer son himself declared that such had been its ten-dency. Indeed, our fathers could not avoid seeing that slavery was practically at war with the Declaration of Independence, and their own example in resisting the tyranny of Britain. In 1787 the Federal Constitution was framed, and it is a noteworthy fact, that the word slave is not to be found in it. According to Mr. Madison, this word was studiously omitted, to avoid the appearance of a sanction, by the Federal Government, of the idea "that there could be property in man." This circumstance, it seems to me, is very significant. The Constitution is so guardedly framed, that, were slavery at any moment to cease to exist, scarcely a clause or a word would require to be changed. Who does not see in this, that whilst our fathers were framing a Constitution whilst our fathers were framing a Constitution that was to last for ages, the idea stood out palpably before their minds, that the days of slavery, were numbered? Be it remembered, too, that at the time the Constitution was adopted, slavery had already been abolished, or measures had been taken for its abolition, in seven of the thirteen col onies; and at the very time the Convention which formed the Constitution was in session, maturing its provisions, the Congress of the Confederation was sitting at New York, enacting the celebrated Ordinance by which territory enough for five large States was forever consecrated to freedom. Every inch of soil which the Government then owned was, by this Ordinance, made free, and a preponderance secured in favor of the North of twelve non-slaveholding to only six slaveholding States. Thus we see, that the time the Government was about to enter upon its career, and to exemplify the spirit of its founders, slavery was a receding power, a decaying interest, a perishing institution. Not chains and stripes, but freedom, was the dominant idea, the great thought of our fathers. They would have been astounded at the suggestion that slavery was to be perpetuated in this country, as the source of all blessings, and lauded as "the corner-stone of our republican cdifice." It was among them, and had been forced upon them by the mother country; and not being able immediately to get rid of it, it was to be tolerated and endured, till measures could be taken for its final extirpation from the land. Another intolerable aggression with which the North is charged is that of scattering incendiary publications in the South, designed to incite insurrections among the slaves. The Southern gestleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Ross] has permeded this charge in the next leave the second of the patient. Six the thought is many than the sanction of the patient.

the view under consideration, that the founders of our Government had no expectation that the boundaries of the United States, as established by the treaty of 1783, would ever be enlarged by the treaty of 1783, would ever be enlarged. There is not one syllable of evidence, either in the Constitution itself, or the history of its formation, to justify the idea that the acquisition of foreign territory was contemplated. This has been admitted by distinguished Sorthern gentlemen in this Hall, and in the other end of the Capitol. Mr. Jefferson seems to have entertained this view; for he questioned the power of the nation to annex foreign territory without an amendtion to annex foreign territory without an amend-ment of the Constitution. I deduce from this the obvious and inevitable conclusion, that the Con-stitution was made for the United States as then bounded, and that the compromises on the subject of slavery, to which the Northern States assented, had reference alone to the slavery of the then slaveholding States; the slavery that was dwinslaveholding States; the slavery that was dwindling and perishing under the weight of its own neknowledged evils; the slavery that our fathers prevented from spreading into the only territory then belonging to the Government; the slavery that was almost universally expected, at no very distant day, to be swept from the Republic. The adoption of the Wilmot Proviso, therefore, would be in harmony with the Constitution, with the views and expectations of the people at the time of its formation, and with the Declaration of Independence, on which our fathers planted themselves in their struggle against a foreign yoke. It contradicting the truth of history, and branding the founders of the Government as hypocrites, who, after having paraded the rights of man before the world, and achieved their own freedom, deliberately went to work to found an empire of slaves. And yet Southern gentlemen speak of the restriction of slavery as an aggression upon their rights! What makes this charge look still their rights! What makes this charge look still worse is the fact, that the supreme power of legislation by Congress over the Territories of the Government has been uniformly exercised from its beginning till the year 1848, and acquiesced in by all its departments. The power in question—that of restricting slavery—was exercised in 1787; it was exercised in 1820; it was exercised in the passage of the resolutions annexing. Texas in 1845, and in its most objectionable form; and it was again exercised in 1848, with the sanction of a slaveholding President. And still we are told that the passage of the Proviso would we are told that the passage of the Proviso would be such an intolerable outrage as to justify the dissolution of the Union!

Mr. Chairman, I have now briefly noticed most

Mr. Chairman, I have now orient noticed most of the alleged aggressions of the North. The historical facts I have brought forward, bearing upon the question of slavery-restriction, have been often presented; but they cannot be too often repeated, or too carefully remembered, in the present crisis. Sir, it is as true at this day as at any former period of our history, that "a frequent recurrence to first principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty."

of slaveholders, and which cost the nation the stimated sum of forty millions of dollars, drawn chiefly from the pockets of the people of the free states : the Mexican war, which, so far as the slavecolding States were concerned, was embarked in for the acquisition of territory into which they designed to carry the institution of slavery; the suppression of the right of petition and the freedom of speech in this House for the period of nine years together; the brutal and outrageous treatment of colored citizens of the free States who visit South Carolina, Louisiana, and some four or five other outhern States: the act of 1793, which for nearly fifty years compelled the State magistrates of the North to assist in the recapture of fugitive slaves; and the surveillance of the Slave Power over the ost office, breaking open letters, and dictating to the carriers of the mail what shall and what shall not be conveyed by them. Passing over these topics, with this rapid glance, I proceed to some kindred

paragraph are condensed from the pamphlet edition of the speech, in which they are commented upon in detail. In order to find room for the sperch in the Era, and such other matter as demanded our attention, Mr. Julian consented to the abridgment mentioned, thus shortening the speech about two columns ]

The slave population of the Union in 1790 when the first census was taken, was about seven hundred thousand; it has now grown to three millions, covering fifteen States, and more than equals the whole voting population of the Union. This, by the way, surely cannot be Northern encroachment. The population of the United States in 1840 was seventeen millions. The white population of the South was four millions seven hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred and twenty. The number of slave-holders does not appear to be capable of any exmated from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand. If we take into the account the actual number of slave owners, exclusive of their families, a fair estimate at present would probably be two hundred thousand; and many of these, doubtless, are minors and women. The thite population of the free States in 1840 was nine million six hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and sixty-five. By comparing the slaveholders with the non-slaveholders of the South, according to their number as here estima-ted, it will appear that the former constitute only about one twentieth of the white population of the slaveholding States. This is what we call the slave power. This is the force which is to dissolve the Union, and before which Northern men bow down to offer up their homage. These two hundred thousand slaveholders, composed in part of women and minors, lord it over three part of women and minors, lord it over three millions of slaves; keep in subjection four or five millions of non-slaveholding whites of the South, besides the free blacks; and at the same time control, at their own will, from nine to ten millions of people in the free States, whose Representatives tremble and turn pale at the important threat the rest of their Southern overseers. Now tent threats of their Southern overseers. Now, bearing in mind that the population of the free States is, and generally has been, about double that of the slave States, let us glance at the mo-

cabinet offices in the same way. Thus of fine-teen Secretaries of State, fourteen have been slaveholders, and only five non-slaveholders.

The Treasury, the South has had more than her share of all the Cabinet appointments. The slaveholding States have had the important office of Speaker of this House for more than thirtyeight years, the free States only about twenty three years. The South has had twelve Speak-ers, the North only eight. The same inequality has prevailed in the foreign diplomacy of the Government. More of our foreign ministers, ath than the North. Turn to the Judiciary. The Chief Justice has been from the slave States about forty-hine years, and from the free States only twelve years, although much the larger portion of the business of the court originates in the latter. And it is a remarkable fact, that at no latter. And it is a remarkable lact, that he period since the formation of the Government has the North had a majority on the Supreme Bench. The South has received the appointment of this period of the court, the North Bench. The South has received the appointment of thirteen judges of the court, the North only twelve; and has, I repeat, always had the majority. Did the time allotted me permit, I might pursue this subject more in detail. It seems, however, unnecessary; for a distinguished Southern gentleman [Mr. Mkadk] himself admits, that although the South has been in a numerical minority for fifty years, she "has managed during the greater part of that period to control the destinies of this nation." What more could she ask? Why, even now, whilst the cry of Northern aggression continually meets cry of Northern aggression continually meets
us, the South has a slaveholding President elected
by Northern votes, a slaveholding Cabinet, a
slaveholding Supreme Court, a slaveholding
Speaker of this House, with slaveholding committees in both Houses; whilst slaveholding influences are unceasingly at work in hushing the anti-slavery agitation, and buying up one after another Northern men, who are as mercenary in heart as they are bankrupt in moral principle Sir, there is truth in the declaration of John Quincy Adams, that "the propagation, preserva-tion, and perpetuation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit of the National Government." Still, Southern gentlemen read us daily homi-lies here on the encroachments of the North; and the threat of disunion is the thunder with which, and frightened into uncomplaining silence. Mr. Chairman, the time has come when Representatives from the free States should speak plainly. Shall a blind fear of a dissolution of the Union make us slaves ourselves? The Federal Constitution of the Union make us slaves ourselves?

make us slaves ourselves? The Federal Constitution was ordained, among other things, to secure the blessings of liberty. "The hour has
come when we are to adopt or reject the degrading principle, that slavery and freedom are
twin-sisters of the Constitution, joined in a Siamese union, one and inseparable; that our fathers fought to build up a prison-house and a
palace as the appropriate wings of the temple of
liberty; that in the flag they rallied under, the
stars were for the whites, and the stripes for the
blacks; that the North is to have leave for a virtuous prosperity only by maintaining the South tuous prosperity only by maintaining the South in a prosperity dependent on oppression and crime." This is the question forced upon us by the South, and it must be met. There can be no request recurrence to first principles is absolutely forcessary to preserve the blessings of liberty. If my time would allow, I would turn now to such thing as dodging it. If our view of the Constitution and its objects be correct, whave rights policy and some of those acts by which alavery instead of wearing out its life within its original limits, has been trumplanted into new regions, interest, and interworse with the whole fabric of its policy. I would refer to the cessions of North Carolina and Georgia, out of which three slave its policy. I would refer to the cessions of North Carolina and Georgia, out of which three slave in violation of the falts upon which it had been consummated; the like admission of the real large slaveholding States from the territory of Louis, and it is a consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, and the consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, by the consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, by the consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, by the constitution of the falts upon which it had been consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, by the constitution and admission of Phorfa, by the constitution of the falts upon which it had been consummated; the like admission of Phorfa, by the constitution and the proper of the Carolina and the subservince of the Covernment of the Cover such thing as dodging it. If our view of the Con-stitution and its objects be correct, we have rights under it which the South should not withhold;

Here lies the great peril now. I have no fears that the South will sunder the Union, notwithtanding the madness of her politicians. The sober second thought of her people, underlying the froth of her Representatives, will be proof against it. But let Northern men continue a lit-tie longer to cower before the threats of slaveholders, instead of meeting them with a manly firmness; let them surrender one after another the rights of the free States, and make merchandise of their honor, until our degradation can no longer be concealed by the devices of politicians, and the dissolution of the Union will be inevitable. The disease in the body politic will have taken such deep root as to be incurable by any other process. He is not the friend, but the real of the Union, who smilingly tells the slaveholders that all is well, and raises the cry of "peace, peace, when there is no peace." Sir. the contest between slavery and freedom has ripened. To talk of compromise is folly. That medicine

the power of Congress to compromise the moral sentiment of the free States; and any attempt to do so would only madden and increase the existing excitement, and multiply obstacles in the way of any pacific adjustment of the questions in dispute. Between slavery and freedom there is and can be no affinity; nor can all the compromists in the world unite and harmonize what God by his carried law has rut sender. his eternal law has put asunder.

Mr. Chairman, it has become quite fashionable to denounce the anti-slavery agitation of the North. Gentlemen tell us it is disturbing the peace of the country, dividing the nation into "geographical parties," and threatening to de-stroy the Union. Sir, let me ask, at whose door ies the blame for all this ? What are the causes which have given birth to this agitation, and these so-called sectional parties? The South, as I have already shown, by the help or permission

of the North, has controlled the offices of the

Government and shaped its policy for the last fifty years. Through her agency slavery has been widening its power, and taking deeper and

deeper root in the country every hour of that whole period. Instead of an institution barely to be tolerated in a few States as their own exclusive concern, and that for a time only, it has become nationalized and demands the protection of this Government wherever our flag fibbs t has grown to be the great interest of the Union, and subordinates all other questions to its unholy purposes. It has reversed the origi-nal policy of the Government, disappointed the hopes and expectations of its founders, and to a great extent frustrated the ends of its formation. And when, after long years of unpardonable forbearance, a portion of the Northern people rise up and demand their just rights, refusing to be the absolute slaves of the South, they are de-nounced as "agitators," enemies of the Union, the builders up of geographical parties. Sir, I meet these charges, and I say to Southern gentlemen, that they have forced agitation upon us. It is the only alternative left us, unless we submit to be bound by them "in all cases whatsoever." I know it is offensive to the South. I know that distinguished gentlemen from that quarter have admitted that Northern agitation has prevented slavery from obtaining a footbold in California. They understand and dread its that of the slave States, let us glance at the monopoly which this slave power has secured to itself of the offices of the Government. This may serve further to illustrate the subject of Northern aggression.

Of the sixty-one years the Government has been in operation, the Presidency, with its immense power and patronage, has been filled by slaveholders about forty-nine years, and by non-slaveholders only a little more than twelve years. Seven of our Presidents have been slave owners—four not; and some of these had to give decided assurances to the South in order to be elected. The South has secured the important Cabinet offices in the same way. Thus of ninesued towards us a policy of systematic selfish-ness from the beginning, uniformly disregarding the state of the selfish of the selfish th to yield us our rights under the Consti are met with browbeating and threats. And are the interests of freedom to be jeoparded over half a continent, in order to avoid wounding the pride of men who thus treat us? Sir, their pride is not worth saving at such a sacrifice. It is not is not worth saving at such a sacrifice. It is not the pride of principle, of justice, but the pride of arrogance, pampered into insolence by long indulgence; and under no circumstances would i yield to it. The history of the world demonstrates, that slavery, regardless of soil or climate, has existed wherever it has not been interdicted by positive legislation. It always establishes itself in the first instance without law, and then suborns the law into its support. Without the aid of any legal sanction, it has at one time or another crept into every portion of the earth that another crept into every portion of the earth that has yet been inhabited. No "law of physical geography," no "ordinance of nature," has been found sufficient, independent of human enactments, to prevent its spread over the globe. Every consideration, therefore, demands that Congress should exclude it from our territories We should thus imitate the example of our fathe same time restore their policy in relation to slavery. The North should demand this as her absolute right, and insist upon it at whatever hazard. Should the South take offence, let her be offended; should her pride be wounded, let her own physicians heal it in their own way; should

she see fit to dissolve the Union, let her make the attempt, but let the North yield not a single hair's breadth to the further exactions of the

slave power.

But suppose, Mr. Chairman, we resolve to compromise: I ask, what are the terms upon which alone the South is willing to meet us ? On this subject we are not left in doubt. We are to this subject we are not left in doubt. We are to allow slavery to continue indefinitely in the District of Columbia; we are to abandon the territories of the United States to its inroads, we are to engage actively in the business of slave-catching under the employ of our Southern masters; and, finally, we must silence the anti-slavery agitation, obeying their imperious mandate, "keep your thoughts to yourselves." This is the very modest demand of the South, and we must allow her to make a compliance with it, a qualification. modest demand of the South, and we must allow her to make a compliance with it a qualification for political fellowship, a test of fitness for office, and the only tie which is hereafter to bind her to the free States. With Southern politicians this is the question of questions. It towers above every other consideration. Doughfaces are found only in the Northern States. The Whigs and is the question of questions. It towers above every other consideration. Doughfaces are found only in the Northern States. The Whigs and Democrats of the South, laying aside minor differences, stand shoulder to shoulder together in the maintenance of their great interest. In comparison with it, the questions of bank and tariff are not even respectable abstractions. And shall the North be less loyal to freedom than the South is to slavery? Have we no paramount question? Shall we surrender our political birthright in a quarrel about comparative trifles, or a mere scramble for place and power? We have the strength to repet the further aggressions of slavery. Shall we waste it by our divisions, instead of declaring in one united voice, and with an inflexible purpose, "thus far, no farther?" I know by experience something of the power of party. I know how anxious are Northern Whigs and Democrats to maintain their national party organizations, in the discipline of which they have so long served. I know how repugnant it is to their feelings, when the old questions between them are rapidly losing their significance, to have new ones thrust upon them, threatening discord and incurable divisions in their ranks. But should there be no bounds to our devotion to party? Each of the political organizations to which I have alluded consists of a Northern and Southern division, diametrically opposed to each other on the question of slavery. These divisions must be held together by some common bond of union, and this bond is subserviency to the slave interest. This fact can no longer be concealed. The submission of Northern politicians to the beheats of alavery is openly proclaimed by Southern gentlemen as the sole condition upon which existing party associations can be maintained. Are we prepared for this submission, to seal this bond of union? We must either do this, or resist like men. The alternatives are presented, and there is no middle ground to occupy. We must choose our master; for it is as impossible to serve slavery an must ally ourselves to the growing spirit of free-dom in the North, which, sooner or later, must be heeded, or we must link our political fortunes to the growing spirit of slavery in the South, which, sooner or later, must be borne down by the powers with which it is at war. We must organize our parties in reference to the increasing anti-slavery feeling of fifteen States of the Union, and ten or twelve millions of people, reinforced